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A sketch of Governor
Jeremiah Morrow.

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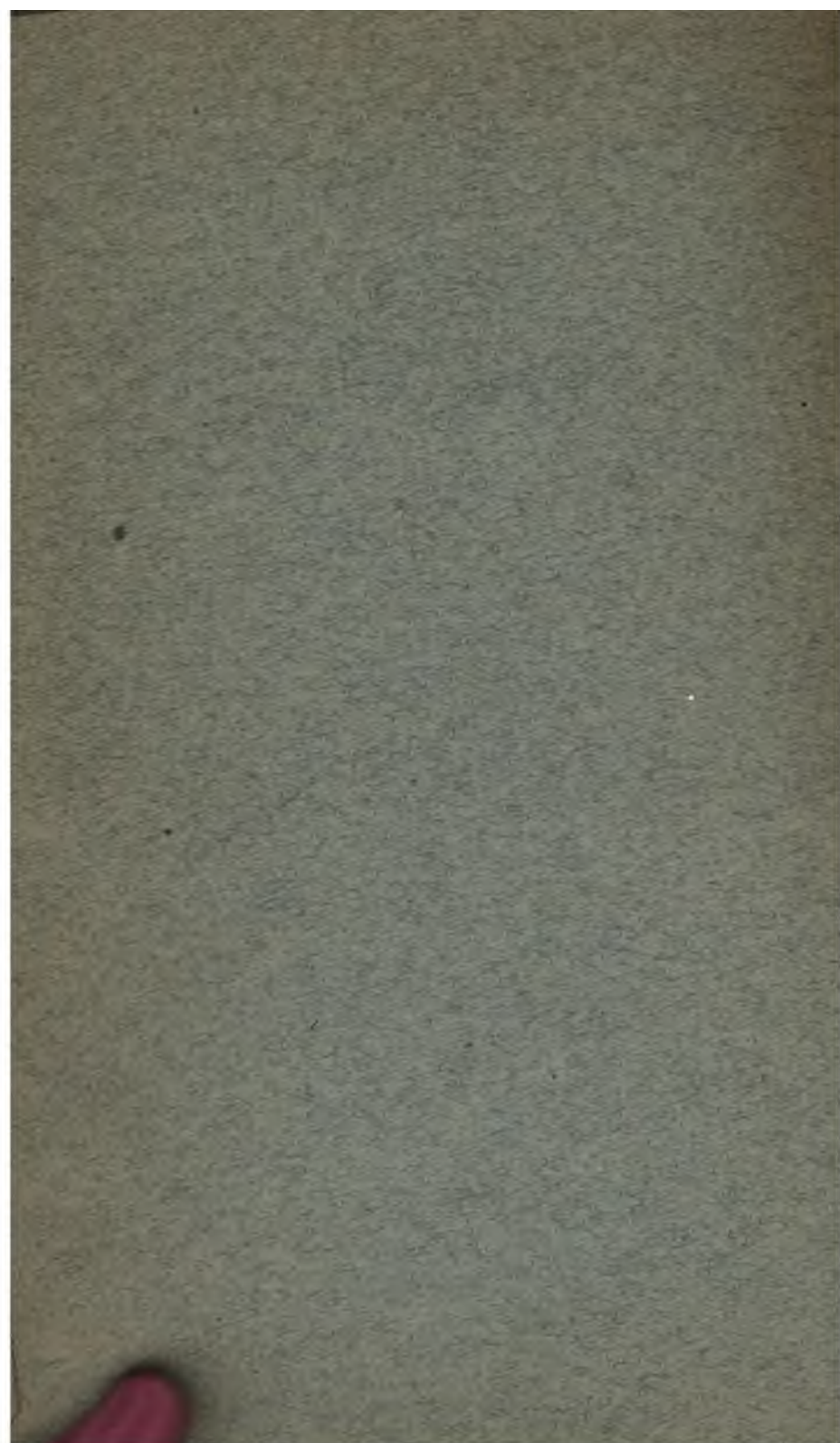
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A SKETCH
OF
GOVERNOR JEREMIAH MORROW;
OR,
A Familiar Talk about Monarchists
and Jacobins.

BY
WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

COLUMBUS, O.:
OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
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A FAMILIAR TALK ABOUT MONARCHISTS AND JACOBINS.

AN ADDRESS BY WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

WHEN I received an invitation to address the Historical Society here to-night, the suggestion was made by a member of your committee that I take the life and public services of John Brough for my theme. Born within the limits of your city, the son of one of the pioneer fathers, it were fitting that he should be remembered on an occasion of such historical interest. It was gratifying to be remembered in connection with one whom I knew and loved so well. But the greatness of his abilities, the eminent services he rendered the State in early manhood, and the self-sacrificing and patriotic devotion to the National cause during the final struggle which resulted in the restoration of the Union, required more careful attention than a very busy man could devote to the subject on such brief notice. Furthermore, my library, papers, and private memoranda of conversations during those eventful years were a thousand miles away, and inaccessible.

Instead of addressing you on that larger and, to me personally, more interesting subject, I am to talk to you in a desultory way of the men and parties that controlled Ohio as a territory, and for some years as a State, with special reference to the life and public career of Jeremiah Morrow.

The members of the little colony planted here one hundred years ago were ardent Federalists. Their strong personality was impressed upon every measure establishing social order, and the settlements made by the Ohio Company, as well as those on the Scioto and Miami rivers, and the Lake, grew up and flourished under this influence. The French on the Wabash, the Illinois and Mississippi, when they received the Ordinance of 1787 from Governor

St. Clair, gave assurance of loyal support. The selection of the President of the Congress that passed the Ordinance—the last Continental Congress—for Governor, was a wise one. The enterprise was essentially an experiment. A wilderness controlled and peopled by savages was to be subdued, and out of it five Commonwealths, the equal of the thirteen colonies, created. The task was an arduous one, and certainly hazardous, requiring courage, endurance, patience, and a high order of intelligence. Congress had provided the most perfect charter yet devised for republican government—the first charter distinctly proclaiming the brotherhood of man—a charter declaring in plain terms that religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind. New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia provided the men and women, among the very best members of their respective communities, to establish government under it. Their chief magistrate was a man of ripe experience, as well as of thorough education. A soldier under Wolfe, a trusted agent of the proprietors of Pennsylvania, a magistrate over an extensive district, a Major General during the Revolutionary war, honored by the friendship of Washington, a friend and associate of La Fayette, President of the Continental Congress, and, because of his brilliant conversational powers, a favorite in the drawing room; handsome in form and dignified in bearing, he was a leader calculated to win the hearts of all. St. Clair, during the years of war, sacrificed a fortune for his country; in taking upon himself the labor and risk of administering a government over a vast territory stretching from the Ohio to the Mississippi, he sacrificed the comforts of home, the social advantages of the East, and brilliant political prospects which would have justified him in refusing the office.

It is worth our while to review some of his opinions of government, to enable us to judge correctly of his fitness for this important administrative office. We find these

expressed in pamphlets and communications to the press, written after the Peace and in the reports and recommendations of the majority of the Council of Censors, of which he was a member.

One of Dr. Franklin's political hobbies was, that the supreme legislative power of the State should be vested in a single body. This principle was incorporated in the Constitution of the Province of Pennsylvania, which was formed and adopted in 1776, under the influence of that great man. It led to much mischief and oppression, and yet to the great surprise of the students of history, the debates in the convention that framed the Federal Constitution in 1787, show that he was not convinced, at that period, that it was not the best form of government.¹

In the colonial days the principles of Republican government, by which harmony is preserved between the legislative, executive and judicial departments, and all made immediately responsible to the people, were not everywhere accepted and not in Pennsylvania in 1776. The leaders in the constitutional convention of that year devised an ingenious and unique plan for bringing the government of Pennsylvania under popular review. It was a provision for the election in 1783, and thereafter every seven years by the freemen of the cities and counties, of a body of review and recommendation to be called the Council of Censors. This council was to inquire whether the constitution had been preserved inviolate in every part; whether the legislative and executive branches of the government had performed their duties as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves greater powers than they were entitled to; and whether the public taxes had been justly laid and collected. This was a device

¹This statement is based upon rather vague passages in the Madison paper and Elliot's Debates. If correct, it would show that Dr. Franklin had changed his opinion on this subject a second time, as in a foot note in one of his pamphlets issued from the press in 1783, General St. Clair speaks of the "inconsistency of that great man"—Dr. Franklin at that time being classed with the opponents of a single legislative body.

worthy of a speculative philosopher, but impracticable, as the Council had no power to enforce its findings.

The Pennsylvania constitution provided that a new constitutional convention could not be called unless recommended by a two-thirds vote of the Council of Censors. This could not be secured, because six of the members were office holders under the old system, who were sure to lose by any change, and they voted steadily with the minority against a new convention, and against all recommendations for reform of the civil service. St. Clair, indignant at the corruption, addressed the public in a pamphlet, in which he laid bare the fact that these six men had been found unfaithful to their trust, and by their unwarranted presence in the Council prevented reform and prosecutions for violations of law. This failure of the scheme to protect the people is a striking illustration of the impracticable in politics, and invites to humorous reflections at the expense of the philosopher, who was undoubtedly the author of it.

St. Clair, as the leader of the majority, made an exhaustive report on the Constitution of 1776, pointing out its defects, and subsequently submitted a plan of government embodying his views of what the fundamental law of a State should be. It is not my purpose to traverse his reports to-night; suffice it to remark that his plan was similar as to a division of the powers of government to that embodied in the Federal constitution and in most of the State constitutions; and that this and his arguments in its support were made public four years before the Federal Convention of 1787. Many of the arguments advanced in the discussions in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and in the *Federalist*, which have been applauded by writers and statesmen, were made use of in 1783 by St. Clair.

His comment on a many-headed executive, as exemplified in the Pennsylvania Executive Council, which choose one of their number President, deserves to be repeated. He said:

Myself

"An Executive Council is a monster. It may do great harm, and never can do any good; it will ever want that energy and promptness that are essential to an executive body, for it is not executive, but deliberative. It destroys all responsibility, and is a very useless expense. If the President has abilities, the Council are but the solemn witnesses of his acts; if he is ambitious at the same time, they will be found to be his useful instruments; if he is cruel or revengeful, at once his ready tools and a defense behind which he at any time can shelter himself; if rapacious, they will share with him in the plunder of their country. I wish for the honor of human nature, no such combination could ever be found; but we know they have existed together in other countries; they may exist together in this."

Justices of the peace, he thought, should be elected by the freemen, but as the lives and property of the citizens depended in a great degree upon the judges of the higher courts, he held that they should be appointed for life, or during good behavior, in order that they might be made independent of political influences.

He held that the Legislature should consist of an upper and a lower house—or a Senate and an Assembly—and that the action of the majority should be final, except in the case of the exercise of the veto power by the Governor, when a two-thirds vote should be required to pass a bill over the executive negative. It was his opinion that no reasons against a law ought to appear upon the minutes. "If," said he, "the bill passes by a majority of one only, it is as binding as if it had passed with unanimous consent. A dissent, with reasons, on the minutes can answer no end but to foment party disputes and weaken the force of the law and impede its execution. But the happiness of a State is so intimately combined with a vigorous execution of, and prompt obedience to, the laws that, where these are wanting, anarchy must ensue. If the laws are found imperfect or oppressive, they should be amended or repealed.

The privilege of entering the yeas and nays is all that any member should desire, and is as much as is consistent with order and good government."

All very trite to-day, but over a hundred years ago in Pennsylvania a desperate contest followed this public utterance of St. Clair's—Smilie, Findlay and others who took on the character of a fierce democracy, declared that such a restriction would prove to be the instrument of a corrupt aristocracy leading to tyranny, and filling the lands with their cries.

St. Clair also held advanced views on other questions which to-day very much disturb the peace of politicians wearing Democratic and Republican labels. He objected to the clause in the Constitution of '76 which provided for rotation in office, as he declared it to be against the public good, for the following reasons:

1. Because the hope to reappointment to office is amongst the strongest incentives to the due execution of the trust it confers.
2. Because the State is thereby necessarily deprived of the services of useful men for a time, and compelled to make experiment of others who may not prove equally wise and virtuous.
3. Because the check intended by such principle of rotation can be of no good effect to repress inordinate ambition, unless it were extended so as to preclude a man from holding any office whatever.
4. Because the privilege of the people in elections is so far infringed as that they are thereby deprived of the right of choosing those persons whom they would prefer.

St. Clair objected to giving to immigrants all of the privileges of citizens after only a brief residence, as it was calculated to prevent the establishment of a government by habits and prejudices, "which often bind mankind more powerfully than laws." Coming from monarchial and aristocratic governments, they brought with them ideas at war with republican principles, and being the victims of

oppression they would be too often moved to view all forms of law as unjustly restraining and threatening personal liberty. A period should be allowed for educating the newcomers before entrusting them with all the responsibilities of American citizenship. A moderate share of property he deemed essential to make an elector independent. "I do not count independence and wealth always together," said he, "but I pronounce poverty and dependence to be inseparable."

These views enable us to estimate the ability and character of the leader chosen to establish Government in the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, under the first purely Republican—the first purely American—charter formed on the Western continent. For thirteen years he never faltered; for thirteen years he had the support of the little colony headed by Rufus Putnam, whose landing on this spot you celebrate to-morrow—and in the end the work was crowned with success.

Although so distant from the centre of political strife, Washington's former companions in arms here located, sympathized with the National administration and gave it loyal support.

Soon political affairs in the territory took on the character of those east of the mountains, and the dominating power was Federal; the opposing Anti-Federal. The act defining the boundaries of a county, the selection of a site for a county seat, the appointment of justices, attorneys, and sheriffs, arrayed men against each other on the lines of national politics, notwithstanding the real motive often originated in personal gain or loss. The whisky rebels of Western Pennsylvania received no sympathy from the loyal people of the territory, whose officers joined in search for the fugitives from justice. As population increased, and the victims of baffled ambition multiplied, the Anti-Federalists took on a bolder front, and in some places defied the territorial administration. They received encouragement from the Kentucky Republicans, who were

building up a commonwealth under conditions less favorable, in important respects, than those enjoyed by the people north of the Ohio. "News, we have none," wrote St. Clair to his son Daniel in 1798; "but the madness of Kentucky, and of that you will hear enough from the public papers without my troubling either you or myself with it. Everything in the political hemisphere is as right on our side of the river as I could wish it. Although we are so near neighbors, the people on this side of the river are the very antipodes of Kentuckians."

It will be seen that four years wrought a change that must have surprised the Federalists of the territory. They did not hold their supremacy, as they confidently expected. The contests led to irregularities in the admission of Ohio into the Union, to which I will now invite your attention.

The Ordinance of 1787 was a compact made between the government of the thirteen colonies and the inhabitants of the Territory, and could not be changed without the consent of both parties. It was so perfect an instrument that there was no warrant for tampering with it. Effort was made repeatedly to change it, at the instance of inhabitants of Southern origin, for the purpose of introducing slavery, and it came near meeting with success in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois as well as in Congress. That disaster was averted through the labors of a few wise men who looked beyond their day and generation. We shall see that there was tampering for political purposes, and because of this Ohio was admitted at an earlier day than would otherwise have been possible. Mr. Jefferson's first election was secured on a very narrow margin—it was by the grace and personal interposition of his old enemy, Alexander Hamilton. It was desirable that a new Republican State should be formed before the next election, in 1804. The parties were so evenly divided in the Territory that the political complexion of the electoral vote of the State would depend on whether it was admitted

through the instrumentalities of the Republican or the Federalist party. The Virginia colony in Ross county were ambitious to give the State to Jefferson and win the right to share in the national councils. They were young and ambitious and skillful in the manipulation of politics. At first they proposed to make Ohio a Republican State, with St. Clair as Governor, but Symmes and Findlay and John Smith (the Smith of Burr's conspiracy) protested so vigorously, the scheme was abandoned. St. Clair had offended Symmes by insisting that he should set apart the university section in his purchase, as he had contracted to do. He had removed Findlay from an office he had disgraced, and later he had reported Thomas Worthington for violation of the land laws and the rights of settlers. St. Clair was stiff and uncompromising, and these politicians determined to break his neck, as they could not bend it. They assailed his character, and preferred charges against him, only one of which proved serious, and that was due to a misunderstanding of the instructions of the State Department. Mr. Jefferson refused to act on these, and the scheme was likely to fail, when the Federalists themselves, by imprudence in countermining, made a breach through which the enemy marched to victory. St. Clair, General Putnam, Dr. Cutler and Judge Burnet, who were the real founders of Ohio, were anxious that when admitted as a State Ohio should be Federalist. They got up a scheme so to alter the boundaries of the eastern division of the Territory as to make the Scioto the western boundary line. This would have reduced the population of the Eastern division, and kept it in territorial condition for some years longer. A bill, drafted by Judge Burnet, was passed by the Territorial Legislature. This gave the Republicans a fulcrum at Washington, and they used it with such effect as to knock the Federalists out in the second round.

The Ordinance of 1787 provided for the State lines, and

for the admission of the territorial divisions into the Union as States. The language is mandatory:

"Whenever any of the said States shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government."

An enabling act was not called for. All necessary authority was already provided, and hence the act of Congress of April 30, 1802, was a direct interference in the internal affairs of the territory. If General Putnam and Dr. Cutler had stood stoutly up to this, and had not set the example of departing from the work of the Continental Congress, the result would have been different. They were masters of the situation, as they had all of the machinery in Federalist hands. But they made a fatal mistake in attempting to compete with the Virginians in political intrigue; a mistake often made since in succeeding generations.

The leaders of the Virginia (or Republican) party were Nathaniel Massie, Thomas Worthington, Dr. Edward Tiffin, Jeremiah Morrow, and Return J. Meigs, Jr., young men of high character, who were actuated by an honorable ambition to give to the new State a more liberal form of government than they believed the Federalists would or could give. They denounced the latter as monarchists with as glib a tongue as the followers of St. Thomas east of the mountains, and in return were denounced as Jacobins, sympathizers with the reign of blood and anarchy in France. The partizanship of the beginning of the nineteenth century was a blind, unreasoning partizanship, that turned brother against brother, and filled the land with hate and unhappiness. That is a striking picture Dr. Cutler gives us of Martha Washington pouring tea and coffee for visiting Federalists, while entertaining them with sarcastic remarks on the new order of things. We

are assured that "she spoke of the election of Mr. Jefferson, whom she considered as one of the most detestable of mankind, as the greatest misfortune our country had ever experienced."

Dr. Cutler himself thought at first, from the tone of Jefferson's inaugural, that he would disappoint the Jacobins, and give the country a conservative administration; but when the bill for remodeling the Judiciary passed Congress he was certain that the Cabinet had decreed the destruction of the Constitution.

On the other hand if we were to read the original draft of a letter on file in the State department from James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, written one month after the inauguration of the latter, we would find the party of Washington denounced as enemies of a Republican government, and the new President advised to turn out the rascals who had been commissioned by that great man, and fill their places with trustworthy Democrats.

Having sent Governor Arthur St. Clair, the leader of the Federalists, back to his Pennsylvania hermitage, I crave your attention for a few moments longer while I introduce to your notice another Pennsylvanian, one of the ablest of the leaders of the Democracy, whose honorable career is a part of the history of Ohio.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF JEREMIAH MORROW.

While looking over some old manuscripts the other day, I chanced upon the following sentence in a letter to John Sargeant, from a correspondent in 1827, who was canvassing the names of persons mentioned for the office of Vice President:

"Governor Morrow," he said, "is an estimable, but assuredly not a strong man." This is the judgment of a contemporary who was favorable to the pretensions of another. We shall see whether it is correct.

Jeremiah Morrow was a member of the Legislature of the Northwest Territory; a member of the Constitutional

Convention of November, 1802; of the first General Assembly of Ohio; he was the first, and for ten years the sole representative of the State in the lower house of Congress; six years a member of the United States Senate; was elected Governor of the State for two terms, and at the earnest solicitation of his neighbors served them again in his old age in Congress and in the Legislature. This is not the record of an ordinary man.

Governor Morrow was of Scotch-Irish descent, his family being a branch of the Scotch family of Murray. His ancestors are traced through the north of Ireland to Scotland. Some of his ancestors bore a conspicuous part in the siege of Londonderry in 1689, and from this place his grandfather, Jeremiah Murray, emigrated to America in 1730. He had but one son, John, who first adopted the present orthography of the name, and who was a well-to-do farmer of Adams county, Pennsylvania. This John Morrow, or Murray, had three sons, the eldest of whom, named after the grandfather, is the subject of my sketch. He was born near Gettysburg, October 6th, 1771. Jeremiah had the experience of all farmers' boys, plenty of work to do and limited terms at such schools as the country afforded. Like other ambitious young men he acquired enough of mathematics to become an efficient surveyor, and thus equipped, with a taste for reading, he entered on practical life and soon made up for the lack of the extrinsic aids of a college education. He went to the Ohio valley in about the year 1796, and was employed as a school teacher and surveyor at Columbia. While thus engaged he purchased a considerable tract of land on the Little Miami, about thirty miles from its mouth, in what is now Warren county. He returned to Pennsylvania for a wife, and on the 19th of February, 1799, he married Mary Parkhill of Fayette county, who accompanied him to the west to share the privations of a pioneer life. He had erected a log cabin, and was soon busy felling trees and preparing the land for cultivation.

Mr. Morrow won the confidence of his neighbors, and in 1801 they sent him to represent them in the Territorial Legislature—the first legislative body that met in the old State House at Chillicothe.

Mr. Morrow had been in correspondence with Colonel Worthington, and although the Federalists were very strong in Hamilton county, which he represented, he was recognized as belonging to the Republican party, which had been organized in the new country by the Virginians. When Jacob Burnet, of the Council, had succeeded in getting his bill providing for a division of the territory enacted into a law, the minority protested so vigorously that Congress refused to approve of the measure, and the Federalists never afterwards recovered. Within one year a convention had convened, and Mr. Morrow participated in the work of framing the Constitution for the new State. He was Chairman of the committee that prepared and reported the fourth article of the Constitution prescribing the qualifications of electors.

After the admission of the State into the Union, Mr. Morrow, as member of the first State Senate, bore a distinguished part in the work of adapting the territorial laws to the new order of things introduced by the adoption of a State government. At the special election, held on the twenty-first of June, 1803, he was elected a representative in Congress, and held that office for ten consecutive years. When, under a new apportionment, the State was allowed a larger representation, Mr. Morrow was transferred to the Senate.

When Mr. Morrow entered the House he was assigned to the Committee on Public Lands, the very first standing committee charged with the care of this important interest appointed in the House. He subsequently served in both Houses as Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands. He was by nature and experience well fitted for this work, which required a practical mind and a sound judgment. He knew thoroughly the wants of the settlers, and

possessed the firmness, independence and moral courage to resist the lobby-scheming of land speculators. His opinion on any subject relating to the public domain uniformly commanded the respect of Congress, so that it came to pass that almost all of the laws providing for the survey and disposal of the public lands during the period he was in Congress, were drafted by him.

Let us pause to hear the estimate put upon this part of Mr. Morrow's public services by the most competent authority of his day: "During the long period in the House of Representatives and in the Senate," said Henry Clay, "that Ohio's upright and unambitious citizen, the first representative of the State, and afterwards Senator and Governor, presided over the Committee on Public Lands we heard of no chimerical schemes. All went on smoothly, quietly and safely. No man in the sphere within which he acted ever commanded or deserved the implicit confidence of Congress more than Jeremiah Morrow. There existed a perfect persuasion of his entire impartiality and justice between the old States and the new. A few artless but sensible words pronounced in his plain Scotch-Irish dialect were always sufficient to insure the passage of any bill or resolution which he reported."

In 1806, Mr. Morrow, in the House, in connection with Mr. Worthington, of Ohio, and General Samuel Smith, of Maryland, of the Senate, introduced measures which led to the improvement known as the Cumberland road. It is scarcely possible at this day, when every part of the continent is accessible by railroad or steamboat, and almost every neighborhood has its paved or macadamized road for wagons and pleasure carriages, to conceive of the great commercial importance this macadamized highway, connecting the navigable waters of the Atlantic with a tributary of the Mississippi, was to the people of Ohio and Kentucky. The policy of internal improvements was one that Washington had much at heart, and as a part of a general system, especially a road connecting the Potomac

with the Ohio. It remained for particularists to deny to the national government under the Constitution any power to aid in the work of internal improvements. Mr. Morrow and Colonel Worthington, although active members of Mr. Jefferson's Republican party, continued zealous in seeking governmental aid in the extension of commerce. At the opening of the Fourteenth Congress—a congress celebrated not less for the important measures it originated than for the distinguished men enrolled as members—Mr. Morrow was placed at the head of a committee in the Senate to whom was referred so much of the President's message as related to roads and canals, and on the 6th of February, 1816, he presented an able and lucid report on the whole subject, the first, I believe, ever presented in either house recommending a general system of internal improvements.

When Mr. Morrow's term in the Senate expired in 1819, he declined a re-election, and returned to his farm. But public sentiment was against his retiring, and he was appointed a Canal Commissioner in 1820, and again in 1822. As, however, he was elected Governor in this latter year, he declined to act as commissioner. During the four years he filled the gubernatorial chair, he was industriously furthering the interests of the State, encouraging the construction of roads and promoting the great enterprise of connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio river by means of canals, an enterprise that had a remarkable influence over the future character of the population of the State and of advancing the grade of the State in the Union. It was the Fourth of July, 1825, that the work was begun, De Witt Clinton assisting Governor Morrow at the ceremonies. Clinton was induced to visit Ohio by a few over-zealous friends who promised a presidential boom, but we are assured by the correspondence of the day that the influence of "Harry of the West" was so manifest wherever he went as to disturb the mind of the New York guest. He said many ugly things about Mr.

Clay afterwards, and while he did not reach the presidential chair, he did defeat Mr. Clay in New York, and thereby broke the hearts of thousands.

During this same year Governor Morrow welcomed La Fayette to the State—the occasion being made much of by all who could possibly reach Cincinnati, where the reception took place. In his account of his tour, La Fayette speaks pleasantly of the Governor and of the people of Ohio.

At the close of his second gubernatorial term, Governor Morrow again tried to retire to public life, but his neighbors sent him to the State Senate. In 1828 he headed the electoral ticket for John Quincy Adams, and in 1832 the Clay and Sargeant electoral ticket. He was also the first President of the Little Miami Railroad Company.

In 1840, when Governor Morrow was in his seventieth year, he was again sent to Congress, under the following interesting circumstances. That was the log cabin year, when the people of the State went wild over the brilliant speeches of America's greatest orator, Corwin, and the songs of John Griener. Mr. Corwin resigned his seat in Congress to accept the Whig nomination for Governor, and a mass convention was held at Wilmington to nominate a successor. It is said that ten thousand people were present on that occasion, and I believe it to be true. It would have been hard to find a section in Ohio so poor in people, or in spirit, at any time in 1840 or 1844 where ten thousand people could not be got together on two weeks' notice to hear a political discussion. At this Wilmington meeting, where Corwin gave an account of his stewardship, and drew philosophical lessons for the benefit of his auditors in his inimitable style, each county appointed fifty delegates to select a successor, and Governor Morrow was their unanimous choice to fill the unexpired term and the succeeding term. It was ratified by the mass convention with great enthusiasm. When Governor Morrow went to Washington to take his seat he

found in the House but one member who had served with him in the Eighth Congress when he first entered on a Congressional career in 1803—and this member, then a Representative, a Senator in 1803, and subsequently President, was perhaps the most eminent American citizen of the day—John Quincy Adams, the Old Man Eloquent, who was then contending for the right of petition and the freedom of speech. But the change in manners was not less than in men. “My old associates,” said Governor Morrow in a tone of sadness to a friend, “are nearly all gone. I am acting with another generation. The courtesies which members formerly extended to each other are, in a great measure, laid aside, and I feel that I am in the way of younger men.”

This service closed the public career of Jeremiah Morrow—a career that extended over a period of forty years. During this whole time Mr. Morrow never sought an office, nor did he ever refuse one. His opinion, always modestly expressed, was that a citizen of a republic should be ready to discharge any duty to which he was called by the voices of his fellow-citizens.

I think it well here to repeat the words of General Durbin Ward on the retirement of Mr. Morrow. He said:

“I well remember when the venerable old man declined serving longer in Congress. With that gravity of intonation for which he was remarkable, he announced to his fellow-citizens that he wished to be excused from serving them longer; that he had lived through his age and generation and served it as best he could; that new men and new interests had grown up around him, and that it was now proper for him to leave those interests to the keeping of the present generation, who better understood, and who more warmly sympathized in the wants of the present age. He made the same response when solicited to take a seat in the second constitutional convention. He said he had assisted in forming one constitution; it was

now worn out, and he was worn out with it. The new one ought to be formed by those who would live under it."

These were words of wisdom uttered by one who had had bestowed upon him the highest honors without himself apparently being conscious of possessing any merit beyond that belonging to the humblest citizen in the community. In the discharge of a public duty he put forth all his powers, but place never exalted him; he was superior to it. Justice John McLean, a neighbor who knew him intimately in public and private life, said of him: "No man was firmer in matters of principle, and on these, as in matters of detail, he always maintained himself with great ability. His mind was sound and discriminating. No man in Congress who served with him had a sounder judgment. His opinions on great questions were of more value, and were more appreciated in high quarters, than the opinions of many others whose claims of statesmanship and oratory were much higher than his. Mr. Jefferson had much reliance in him, and Mr. Gallatin gave him, in every respect, the highest evidence of his confidence. There never sat in Congress a man more devoted to the public interests, and of a fairer or more elevated morality."

During the last years of his life Governor Morrow resided in a plain frame house at the foot of a steep hill and close to the bank of the Little Miami, one of several plain dwellings he had erected near his mills, which were turned by that stream. His wife preceded him to the grave by some years; his children were married and settled. In his old age he preserved the same simplicity of life and unpretending manners which had characterized his earlier life. He occupied a single but spacious room plainly furnished, which was the sitting room, parlor and library. His library was large and well selected, and here, occupied with his books and newspapers, in the full use of his mental faculties, he lived in the enjoyment of a

happy and comparatively healthful old age. He died on the 22d day of March, 1852, in the 81st year of his age.

This, all too briefly related, is the story of a useful life. There is not a trace of genius; nothing of evil to attribute to eccentricity. It is clear that Mr. Morrow was not "a child of destiny," but a plain man who feared God and loved his fellow-men. And here, friends of Ohio, I wish to proclaim in this age of unbelief, of the false and meretricious, the ancient and divine doctrine of CHARACTER as being the highest type of manhood. Wit may edify, genius may captivate, but it is *truth* that blesses and endures and becomes immortal. It is not what a man seems to be, but what he is that should determine his worth.

It is in the light of this doctrine, that I wish you to form an opinion of Jeremiah Morrow. A few additional words descriptive of his person and of traits of character will bring the man more plainly before you.

He was of medium stature, rather thin, very straight, strong and active, and capable of enduring much fatigue. His eyes and hair were dark, but in the last years of his life the latter was nearly perfectly white. In dress he was exceedingly careless, even while in public life. At home his usual attire was as plain and homely as that worn by his neighbor farmers, or his work-hands. At no period of his life did he consider manual labor beneath him, and few men with a sickle could reap more grain in a day than he. These homely ways occasionally led ambitious and officious politicians to the conclusion that he would be as potters' clay in their hands. His pastor, the Rev. Dr. Mac Dill, of the Associate Reformed, or United Presbyterian Church, of which Mr. Morrow was a life-long and consistent member, relates that "when his first gubernatorial term was nearly expired, some gentlemen about Columbus, who seemed to regard themselves as a board specially appointed to superintend the distribution of offices in the State of Ohio, had a meeting, and appointed a committee to wait on him and advise him as

to his duty. The committee called, and speedily made known their business. It was to prevail on him (for the public good, of course) not to stand as a candidate for a second term, but to give way in favor of another. They promised that if he would do this they would use their influence to return him to the United States Senate, where, they assured him, he would be more useful to the State. Having patiently heard them through, he calmly replied: 'I consider office as belonging to the people. A few of us have no right to make bargains on the subject, and I have no bargain to make. I have concluded to serve another term if the people see fit to elect me, though without caring much about it.'

A friend relates this anecdote of the Governor: "On one occasion, an officer from one of the Eastern States came to Columbus as the agent in an important criminal case. The Governor was on his farm, and as the case admitted of no delay the agent went post-haste to find him. Arriving at the old mansion he asked for Governor Morrow. A lady directed him to the barn. Feeling that he was being humbugged the man went under protest, as directed. He found two men busy with a load of hay, one pitching to the mow, the other mowing away. He looked in vain for Governor Morrow, and a little out of humor, asked of the man on the wagon of his whereabouts. The individual addressed pitched his last fork full to the mow, and taking off his hat, wiping the perspiration from his brow, said: 'I am Governor Morrow, what can I do for you, sir?' The agent, now sure of the humbug, became indignant, said he wished to see Governor Morrow on business, and none of his servants. The farmer descended from the wagon, directed 'John' to drive the oxen out to the meadow; assured the man that he was the Governor; led the way to the house, and being one of the best talkers of the day, he soon convinced the indignant agent that the Governor of Ohio was the right man in the right place, and that he understood the dignity of the gubernatorial chair

as well as the mysteries of the hay-mow. Years afterwards I met this man in Boston, and he said that the strangest adventure in his career was his meeting with Governor Morrow in the barn."

One more illustration and I am done: When Charles Anderson was Governor, and I Secretary of State, we represented the State government at Urbana on the occasion of the removal of the remains of Simon Kenton to the new cemetery of that place, where a handsome monument had been erected to the famous pioneer. And here I interrupt my narrative to remark parenthetically, and not as pertinent to my subject, that while the dignified officers of the State and hundreds of worthy citizens followed the remains of the pioneers to their final resting place in solemn silence, the descendants of Kenton were enjoying themselves at a feast—a grim commentary, you will say, on family pride. But so far as the public were concerned, the ceremony had its sentimental, its patriotic side.

The occasion was calculated to inspire reminiscences and anecdotes of early Ohio days, and Governor Anderson proved to be in his happiest mood, the full meaning of which will be appreciated by those here present to-night who were ever so fortunate as to listen to the conversation of that brilliant man. He had a great deal to say about Governor Morrow, who, as Trustee of Miami University, often visited that institution and invariably, from choice, roomed with young Anderson. He therefore came to know him well, and within a few months, at my request, has put in writing his opinion of Mr. Morrow. He says:

"If I were compelled to choose and name the one ablest and best of all the Governors whom I knew it would be this Jeremiah Morrow, of Warren county. * * * * *

* * I believe I have known but one man who had so little of the spirit 'to show off'—of false pretense; of selfish vanity or ambition—as he had. And as for his merely intellectual powers and culture, without being, as far as I know, very profound or original, and surely being

neither brilliant nor eloquent, he had so many exact, yet various and extensive, knowledges, with such accuracy and aptness of memory and citation, that I am compelled to adjudge him a high place as well in scholarship as statesmanship."

The anecdote I am about to relate will give you the estimate of an intelligent foreigner of this Ohio pioneer. Governor Anderson said in the conversation, to which I have referred, that after he had graduated at Oxford he went abroad to spend a year in Europe. Some time in the month of October of the year 1845 he chanced to meet at Prague, in Bohemia, an English party of three gentlemen—a couple of barristers traveling for pleasure, and a Scotch commercial traveler. They together visited all the noted places throughout that country, and by these associations became welded into a sufficient homogeneity to be called "Our Party." At an early hour on a fine autumn day they turned their faces homeward, and followed the Moldaw toward, but not as far as the river Elbe, until they reached the little steamboat on which they were to embark, some distance above the junction of these classic streams. While they were lounging around the dock awaiting the arrival of the "captain," as we Americans always dub such officers, a sudden shower came up and drove the passengers into the close quarters of the cabin. Among these passengers so packed together was a curiously and elegantly dressed personage, in clean, bright scarlet coat, buff vest and shirt, fair top boots, a very jaunty little cap, with an elegant whip in his hand. Being fresh shaven, except his oiled side whiskers, clean as new cloth and fine linen could make him, he was, with his fresh pink complexion, his handsome regular features and comely stoutish figure, to a novice like young Anderson, one of the most curious and elegant figures he had ever seen off the stage. It was a pity he had not remained as a figure "to be seen, not heard," as parents in the good old days were wont to say to the boys. But alas! he spoke.

And such grammar, such metallic tones, interlarded with slang and vulgar profanity, as never before offended mortal ears in the presence of ladies. It is needless to say that all this outrage was in English. Indeed, declared Governor Anderson, no other language on earth, dead or living, ever had the capability of such slang and profanity as was then heard. Undoubtedly this "Professor" of the profane branch of the Queen's English did not dream that any of those present, except his own associates and the Anderson party, known by their dress, understood a word of his chaffing. But he was soon to be undeceived in a surprising manner; for after two or three repetitions, there arose from his seat between two ladies, of very plain but most genteel apparel and most quiet, refined appearance and demeanor, another figure as striking as his own, but in a very different fashion. He was a very giant in size and proportions. Very much above six feet in height, he was broad, straight, compact, sinewy—one of the noblest and most majestic human beings Anderson had ever beheld. And he spoke also, to the amazement of the little party, in the best tones and clearest sense in our own dear tongue. "Steward," he called calmly. No response. "*Steward,*" with a slight crescendo. Still no response. "STEWARD," he shouted, so as to be heard throughout the boat. Whereupon the steward showed his face. "Where is the master of this vessel?" The steward replied that he had not yet arrived from Prague. Then our modern Ajax announced in effect that he would usurp that office for the present occasion. And thereupon pointing his finger to the ascending steps, he coolly ordered the burly Britisher in scarlet and buff tights to move up and out. The free-born Briton refused peremptorily. He said he had paid for his ticket, that he had equal rights, that it was raining and he would not go for any man. To all which the new master said "Go," his stalwart finger still pointing the way. After a slight but impressive pause he added: "I know you, sir. You are a low servant of my friend

the Earl of Chesterfield—the head groom of his racing stud, and you have forgotten that you are not in the presence of his horses and your other fellow-brutes. Now move, sirrah! or I will move you.” And thereupon out moved the bold Briton into the rain.

In a short time the shower passed, and the little family-party of Anglo-Saxons went on deck for the freshened air and the sunlight. Of course, a squad of four of that race of bipeds could never be collected in which there would not, after such a scene, arise a split, a taking of sides; a discussion of the rights of the parties; much vague reference to Magna Charta, to the Bill of Rights, etc. And so in this case there was a division. The Scotchman, keen in debate and jealous of the English, began the schism by rejoicing over the discomfiture of the groom. The two English barristers were inclined, for argument's sake, to stand upon the free speech of Magna Charta, and as Anderson, who sympathized with the young ladies and admired the masterful stranger, sided with the Scotchman, their discussion became animated. As the words of strife closed, the Scotchman disappeared below to gather fresh items. In a little while, as it turned out, he informed our hero of the debates that they had settled down into unanimity on his side, but that his American friend, with whom he had traveled the Danube, had been very warm in his advocacy of his procedure and admiration of his bearing. The big stranger then said he would like to be made acquainted with an American; that this was his country almost; that he had never seen an American so far east in Europe, and that having spent many happy days in the United States, he would be really glad to chat with this American friend of Campbell's. And thereupon up came the twain, like Douglas and his page, and so young Anderson had the honor of a presentation to the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar—a soldier of Waterloo, a relative of the royal family of England, and, among other distinctions, the author of two of the

most highly esteemed, as well as expensive, volumes of Americana.

During the trip down the beautiful river to Dresden the Grand Duke paid marked attention to the young American, and in conversation showed the most accurate familiarity with our history and institutions, and acquaintance with prominent citizens in every section of the country. For instance, in relating his experience in Ohio, he spoke of Governor Morrow, Judge Burnet, General Lyttle, General Findlay, Peyton Symmes, Robert Buchanan, A. W. Gazlay, Nicholas Longworth, and others, rightly estimating the ability and characteristics of each. "Next to your great statesman, Henry Clay," said he, "I took the greatest liking to the Governor of your State—Governor Morrow—whose acquaintance I made in the most thoroughly American manner." And thereupon he related how, taking a carriage at Cincinnati, he traveled to Columbus to pay his respects to the Governor, but, on the advice of a Cincinnati friend, he called *en route* at the farm of Governor Morrow. When he reached the farm he saw a small party of men in a new field, rolling logs. This scene of a deadening, or clearing, is familiar to those of us fortunate enough to have been brought up in Ohio, but to a European raised in courts, it must have been an amazing sight. After twenty years, he gave a quick and picturesque, almost poetic description of this remarkable scene on the Little Miami; but I must hasten to the end. Accosting one of the workmen, a homely little man in a red flannel shirt, and with a smutch of charcoal across his cheek, he asked, as he did on the Elbe boat, "Where is your master, sir?" "Master!" exclaimed the other, "I own no master—no master but Him above." The Duke then said, rather testily, "It is the Governor of the State, Governor Morrow, I am inquiring for." "Well, I am Jeremiah Morrow," replied the son of toil, with unaffected and unconscious simplicity. The Grand Duke stood amazed.

This little man, in a red flannel shirt and home-made tow linen trousers, leaning on a dogwood hand-spike, with a coal smutched face and the jeweled sweat drops of real labor now on his brow, and a marked Scotch-Irish brogue when he spoke! He the Governor of Ohio? Was it possible? He could scarcely credit his senses. The history of Sparta and Rome, were as household words to him. Cincinnatus the model of rural, if not rustic, statesmen and heroes, had so filled the world with his fame, that he had indirectly given his name to the neighboring town on the bank of the Ohio. But here was a real, living farmer, rustic laborer, and a statesman too; not a figure-head of a Plutarch, nor the dream of a poet fancy, but a present reality, a man with simple, natural manners and downright honesty of character, who was quite the equal of any classic Cincinnatus or Cato of them all. He had seen, as he had expected in this new and wild country, many institutions in the process of development, all along the line, from germ to grain; but a real head of a commonwealth, in such a show of man—or any likeness to it—was a spectacle he had not seen nor expected to see.

After he had somewhat recovered from his surprise, he accepted a graceful invitation to go to the house, where he of the red flannel shirt excused himself, and soon reappeared fittingly apparelled for the governor of a republic. The Grand Duke was his guest in Warren county, and also at Columbus, for some days, and it was during this time that a plain head of a plain people made such a profound impression.

It has come to be the fashion with biographical writers to dwell upon the unfavorable conditions attending the growth and education of successful men, who in early youth had to labor and save, or share with kin the hard-earned dollars. If a boy voluntarily or of necessity went barefooted, or, if in manhood, he took a contract to split rails, it is accepted as evidence that his relations were not only poor but ignorant and unfamiliar with the decencies

of life, not to say deficient in those delicate sensibilities inseparable from noble characters. To heighten the contrast, humble friends and associates are made to appear coarse and repulsive—unjustly, we may be sure. Great souls are not born of evil. Strong characters surmount difficulties before which weaker ones succumb and the effort is a valuable aid to intellectual growth. But there are external influences that help to mold the man. In the case of Jeremiah Morrow there was an element in his education which must not be overlooked, for which he was indebted to Christian parents. He was by them instructed by precept and example in the great principles which guide and control a moral and religious life. Similar conditions influenced the education of the leading pioneers, who wrought a mighty work in the Ohio Valley, and of their successors who have departed, lamented by the whole American people—Hammond, and Harrison, and McLean, and Corwin, and Brough, and Ewing, and Wade, and Chase, and Garfield. These like those came of poor but of the best American families, dating back to the time when there was no marked distinction except that of human worth; and they died as they lived, comparatively poor. The history of the lives of these devoted and patriotic men, of the work wrought by the pioneers, and of the manly and unpretentious career of Jeremiah Morrow, to which I have called your attention to-night, is a precious heritage to the people of Ohio.

And here, Mr. President, I ought to close my remarks, as I have already detained you too long. But we are in the midst of great social dangers, and I am constrained to dwell a little longer on the central thought of my theme. New conditions confront each generation, and changes have to be made to meet them. But there are principles that are immutable, and a people's history is glorious or infamous as these are made conspicuous or are trampled upon in private and official life. We have been accused

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by foreigners of making a fetich of the Constitution. If we were to live up to the spirit of the Constitution, we would be strong enough to confront any danger from without or within. But the real American fetich is the pride of money, which is rapidly destroying the republican simplicity and honesty in which our strength as a people heretofore lay. Rufus King, in a private letter in 1803, predicted that if we had another war, there would be afforded another opportunity of gaining riches, the consequences whereof might be an aristocracy of the most odious character. But the picture he drew falls far short of the reality. It is not likely that Mr. King, or other Americans in that day, dreamed that men would count their hundred millions, largely acquired by wrecking corporations and other questionable methods; or through the power of combination destroy individual enterprise—the keystone of the American business arch; or that, through the selfish greed of a few, and indifference to the just claims and welfare of the many, we should be brought, at the close of the first century of the Constitution, face to face with anarchy and revenge. And yet is not this the condition of affairs in our country to-day?

Let us not despair of the Republic, but, acquiring the faith that strengthened the immortal Lincoln in days as dark, believe that Providence will find a way for rendering useful for good the enormous wealth in the possession of the few, and of transforming into conservative American citizens the refugees of Europe without the horrors of crime and bloody revolution. Much depends upon Ohio, whose central location gives her great power. Heretofore her leaders have been actuated by a noble ambition; her citizens have responded to every call of patriotism. Private and public virtue still abound. As the example of a simple, dignified, and useful life, after the enjoyment of the highest honors, was to be found in the early days of the Republic at Mount Vernon, Monticello and Montpelier, so is it to be found to-day at Fremont. The value of this

influence cannot be overestimated. Let the citizens of Ohio not forget the living lesson which is worthy the glorious past; or those to whose hands hereafter shall be confided the power of the State and of the Nation, the words of the poet:

"Goodness and greatness are not means, but ends."

